1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

circular sheep-fold on level well-drained land close to the huts. Each frame leans towards the centre at an angle of 60° to the ground and is supported by a forked branch. In the lee of this inclined wall the animals press together for warmth and protection. During the last days of December and the first ten days of the New Year most of the lambs are born. As each ewe drops its lamb, the two animals are brought down from the pen on the rough pasture at dawn and dusk by relays of unmarried girls, and are placed in the new sheep-fold close to the huts. By the middle of January the whole flock of ewes with their lambs is together once more. Once the lambs are born the yield of milk becomes the main concern. The ewes are now grazed intensively on the best grassland which is divided into plots or strips (ἀπολυσιές) used in daily rotation. Under present conditions, however, few stanis possess enough winter grassland, and for some weeks before lambing and until the move to the mountains in the spring, the milking ewes are also fed each morning with weighed quantities of maize, oats, or cotton-cake.

On the first of February the cheese merchant sets up his station (μπαϊτζαριό) close to the grassland of the largest stani in the neighbourhood. In return for this convenience the women of this stani build two thatched huts; in one the cheese-maker and his assistant sleep, work, and keep their equipment, cauldrons, churns, and the cream separator; the other, which is entered only through a low trap-door from the first hut, and is sunk three feet below the surface of the ground, is used for the storage of the cheeses[3] on beds of fern leaves under the necessary conditions of stillness and humidity. The women must also supply the cheese-maker with water and firewood.

Cash and credit at this time of year are very short for the Sarakatsani and there is now a great urgency to sell milk. Every effort is made to wean the male lambs quickly. The ewes are seldom allowed to suckle these lambs for longer than four weeks before they are sold to an animal dealer for the spring lamb market; a few only are kept back to maintain the right proportion of rams to ewes in the flock. This sale of lambs brings

[3] Cheese merchants separate some of the cream to make butter. From the separated milk they make a hard cheese known as κεφαλοτύρι; and, then, from the remaining liquid a form of cheese known as μυζήθρα.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

The milk which is taken during the move into the mountains, before the 1st of February, and after the last week in July, is made into a rough cheese and stored for the use of the family.

In each area where a merchant collects milk he establishes a cheese-maker (μπάτζος) with an assistant. These men are paid and fed by the merchant, who also provides the necessary equipment, the cream separator, cauldrons, cheese boards, and rings. The shepherds who bring their milk to the cheese-making hut (μπατζαρειό) are responsible for its construction and for supplying it with water and firewood. It is not economical for a cheese-making station to serve less than 1,000 ewes, and the upper limit beyond which the quantities of milk become too great for a single cheese-maker to handle may be set at about 2,500 sheep. The spring milk is three times greater in quantity than the summer milk[1] and the more important merchants concentrate their main activities and have their headquarters in the winter pastures, but they also buy some summer milk in the various districts of the Pindus mountains of which the Zagori is one.

Before 1945 the cheese merchants in winter or summer were small *entrepreneurs* seldom controlling more than two or three cheese-making stations. Between 1944 and 1949 currency inflation and Communist insurrections ruined many of these men. Only the stronger and abler merchants survived. The financially strong merchant was able to steal the custom of his weaker competitors by offering more substantial credits at a time when the shepherds needed a larger cash income than formerly, but were also slipping farther into debt. Today in the winter pastures there are a number of merchants with five or six stations but few with less. The situation in the winter pastures, especially in Thesprotia, is dominated by the merchant 'X' who controls 45 stations drawing on the milk production of 50,000 ewes. He also has a wholesale agency in Athens through which his butter and cheese have a secure market outlet to the metropolitan consumer.

The establishment of a cheese station requires, in the first

[1] Winter milk production varies considerably. One stani produced 38 okes per ewe in 1945 and as little as 13½ okes per ewe in 1954. Generally for the period 1950–5, milk production in winter has varied between 20 and 24 okes per ewe. Summer production is more stable at 7 to 9 per ewe. An oke of milk is equivalent to 2·35 pints.

353 There seemed to be hardly a thing in the hut
32 that could single out our surroundings for any particular date in the last few millennia, and almost nothing the nomads had not made themselves; either hanging from the lopped and fire-darkened stumps of branches jutting from the hut's timbers, neatly piled against the brushwood walls, or underfoot — guns, tools, choppers, adzes, spades, billhooks, cooking pots, saddles, harness, the tin frills around the icons, and among a pendant grove of dried and shaggy waterskins, a gleaming branchful of new horseshoes. Otherwise, all was hewn and carved wood or homespun from
● [251] the backs of their flocks. Aloft, among the sooty twigs and the cobwebs, hung strings of onions, garlic, corncobs, and tobacco leaves. Higher still, the osier-bound reeds of the thatch all converged
123 symmetrically in the apex of the dome. An agreeable and pungent aroma of milk, curds, sweat, goat's hair, tobacco, and woodsmoke filled the place. The thorns on the fire crackled nearly smokelessly, and whenever a new fagot was thrown on, the flames made the tall hut dance in a brief gold concavity above a mob of shadows and lit up the bleached and matted hair and those faces shaped by the blasts of winter and the summer solstice. Their features glittered and flashed like the surfaces on a flint, and whenever my eyes met any of theirs, a smile of welcoming friendliness would answer back.

I had begun to grasp, in the past few weeks, one of the great and uncovenanted delights of Greece; in my case, it was a pre-coming-of-age present. This is a direct and immediate link, friendly and equal on either side, between human beings; something that cuts through barriers of hierarchy and background and money and, except for a few tribal and historic feuds, through politics and nationality as well. It is not a thing that functions in the teeth of convention, but in almost prelapsarian unawareness of its existence. Self-consciousness and awe and condescension (and their baleful remedy of forced egalitarianism) and the feudal hangover and the post-Fall-of-the-Bastille flicker — all the gloomy factors that lame and hobble and limit the range of life and deoxygenate the air of western Europe are absent. Existence, these glances say, is a torment, an enemy, an adventure, and a joke that we are in league to undergo, outwit, exploit, and

415 /38/

234 /38/ A cask large enough to permit the storage of up to 100
251 kilograms of cheese, and finally, a tub in which butter is kept (fig.22).

415 The staves of these large and small tubs, and the buckets are
824 very often adjusted and held in place by means of hoops formed from flexible branches of fir from which the needles have previously been
[111] removed. However, this technique is of recent introduction among the
[322] Sarakatsani. Formerly, they /the tubs/ were carved out of solid wood.

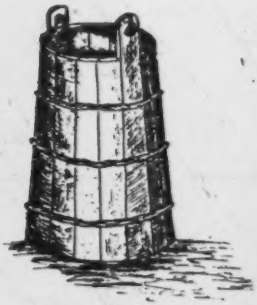

Fig. 22

Fig. 23

283
824
→

/58 cont./

The use of hides.

281
415 This craft is limited to the fabrication of goat skin bottles (fig. 43).

The treatment of the skins consists first of removing their wool, which is crudely cut with scissors, then drying them. For

Fig. 43

drying, the skins are turned so that the wool surface is on the inside; then a flexible, curved stalk is inserted in order to keep the skin well stretched.

When the skins are dry, one ties the opening of the feet carefully and overcasts the fore part (belly). The goatskin bottles are then [251] ready to receive liquids or cheeses for transportation or preservation; these are poured into the opening corresponding to the neck.

SARAKATSANI BUILDINGS.

342
343 All the Sarakatsani buildings used for dwellings or for animal
824 shelters are made of wood.

Small trunks, branches, twigs, and leaves of trees (plane trees, oaks, beeches, firs, poplars, willows, pines, bushes with or without thorns, finally aquatic plants such as rushes or reeds) are extensively used.

The choice of these plant species is related on the one hand, to the possibilities offered by the flora in the region where the Sarakatsani live and, on the other hand, to the type of building undertaken.

/108 cont./

291 ornaments of the women (clasps, chains, etc.), as well as the cotton
439 fabrics for the "foustanella," for the shirt or for underclothing are bought commercially.

294 Finally, the services of the tailor also come from the outside; an
445 itinerant tailor is called upon to make the "foustanella" and vests
177 of every sort.

294 The Sarakatsani make only their other clothing themselves.

513 Blankets and rugs
352

The description of blankets and rugs was given in connection with the study of their manufacture.

As far as their use is concerned, it should be pointed out that while the "tsolia" and the "fouskotto" are always used as rugs, the blankets have the double role of covering human beings while they are asleep and making them comfortable on the floor of the hut. A double use which, however, does not take away from their character as blankets for their second use is merely complementary. However, the "karamelotti" blankets (fig. 40)$_A$ are never used as rugs.

513 One other point remains to be stated: the Sarakatsani are not even acquainted with sheets and mattresses. On the other hand, cushions and pillows are widely used.

Food-Drink-Heat and Light

262 Food.

If we wish to classify in a hierarchical order the basic products that enter into the food of the Sarakatsani we should mention first milk and dairy products, then maize and wheat flour, then edible grasses, vegetables, olive oil and last of all meat.

[439] All these subsistence goods are directly at the disposal of the Sarakatsani except flour, oil and vegetables for which he must turn to the economy of surrounding society on which he depends to this extent.

[251] /109/ Moreover, dairy products (cheese, butter), wheat and maize,

$_A$, /Fig.40 appears on p.66--Analyst/

/109 cont./

262 251 vegetables and oil must be stored up, inasmuch as the first cannot be daily products and the others must be bought in bulk, since the Sarakatsani live in isolated regions.

128 This said, let us examine the methods of food consumption from a triple point of view: a) the preparation of foods; b) their cooking; c) their consumption.

252 The preparation of foods

Bread: the different kinds of bread made by the Sarakatsani can be distinguished on the basis of: 1st, the flour used (maize, wheat or barley flour) and 2nd, the method of preparation (leavened or unleavened bread).

The most common bread is unleavened maize bread; there are several kinds, differentiated by the degree of simplicity in their preparation:

--"Stachtocouloura": a mixture of maize flour, water and salt spread out on a tray. The dough is placed directly on the hot flagstones of the hearth and then covered with hot ashes.

--"Chamokouki": the same mixture. However, here the dough is placed under the "ghastra" covered with embers.

252 461 These two kinds of bread, very quickly prepared are the ordinary and easy solution both in the dwellings, since the women are always very busy, and during the migrations.

However, when the women have a moment of leisure, they make another kind of maize bread, this time leavened, which, if it is meant to be used by the family, is most often sent to the shepherds who are far from home.

252 First the dough is kneaded in a kneading-trough with yeast; the loaves are then given their final shape on the "plastiri"; when the loaves are shaped they are put in the "pinakotti" under thick covers to let them rise, then they are put on a tray that is taken to the hearth where they are baked under the "ghastra."

Finally, there is a leavened bread of wheat flour that is

/110 cont./
234 252 is poured into a kettle (fig. 91) to which a certain amount of rennet is added. A half hour later the milk, stirred with wooden spatulas (fig. 92) is curdled.

234 252 415 /111/ By means of a kind of large spoon, a "ladle" rather, called "koutlas" (fig. 93) the curdled milk is decanted into the "tsandiles" or bags made from a square piece of transparent cheesecloth the four

Fig. 93

corners of which are tied together. This bag is then suspended from the branches of a tree (fig. 94) in order to let the whey drip into small tubs below.

234 252 The next day the drained cheese is placed on a small low table; it is cut in slices and, after being salted, it is placed in a tub [251] where it remains five or six days. This cheese is then ready to be eaten; it is stored in casks or goatskin bottles.

That is not all. The whey drained into the small tub is decanted into a kettle in which it is heated. When the temperature /Figure 94 appears here/ rises there is formed on the surface a kind of white cheese low in fat, which is gathered up with a spoon and which is called "mytzithra." This cheese is then treated like the preceding. [231] The remaining liquid is used as food for the dogs and pigs.

257 Now a rapid presentation of the most characteristic Sarakatsani cooked foods:

--"Katsamaki": this is a mixture of hot water and maize flour seasoned with salt and pepper, which is /112/ boiled to a pasty

/268 cont./

776 descriptions of satyrs. Sharp claws and piercing cries are attributed to them. In order to prevent them from entering the hut, the entrance door
776 789 is covered with wild asparagus (the thorny shrub repulsing the evil),
[824] asphodel bulbs (the flower of the dead according to Hellenic beliefs,
412 hence indicated for exorcising underground demons), (56). One may also
312 56. The bulbs symbolize life. They are dry but sprout once they are planted. Thus any threat against life in the broad sense of the term can be neutralized by them.

instead place there the xethali of the hearth (see above, p. 44, figure 15), that type of poker symbolizes the fire and therefore its purifying force. However, the kalikantzari take advantage of the slightest opportunity to enter the hut. So to protect oneself from their wicked tricks it is necessary to avoid sitting too near the hearth of leaving there an uncovered pot, and to see that all the dishes are put back--precautions which prevent these spirits from soiling men, utensils and food. It is also necessary to drive a fork into raw meat [the prongs of the fork threaten to painfully prick the "kalikantzari"). One must also avoid washing one's
515 head and combing one's hair during the days when the kalikantzari move about on the earth, in order to give them no opportunity to get into one's hair, "for the acts of men influence the spirits." If the kalikantzari
776 789 dirty the food it is no longer edible. A Sarakatsani told us that one day during the Christmas festivities, his mother and he had roasted some pieces
262 252 of meat for their lunch on the embers of the hearth in their hut. This meat seemed tasteless to them. They first thought they had not added enough salt. In the evening they prepared some of the same meat in a pot. This time the taste was truly abominable. They then realized that they
251 had forgotten to stick a fork into the piece of raw meat /269/ hanging in its usual place in a corner of the hut; they concluded that the kalikantzari had urinated on it.

776 789 However, the radical procedure that puts an end to their sojourn among